

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KINGST 00973 01 OF 02 022238Z

ACTION ARA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 INR-05  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PRS-01 EB-03 OMB-01 TRSE-00 INRE-00  
SSO-00 /039 W

-----022256 120826 /63

O 022044Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4256

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KINGSTON 0973

LIMDIS

FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PINT, JM

SUBJECT: OPPOSITION LEADER SEES INTERNAL COLLAPSE OF GOJ

REF: KINGSTON 0710

1. SUMMARY: I MET WITH OPPOSITION LEADER EDWARD SEAGA MARCH 2 AT HIS REQUEST. SEAGA EXPRESSED VIEW THAT GOJ IS ON THE VERGE OF AN INTERNAL COLLAPSE AS A RESULT OF THE REMA INCIDENT (REFTEL) AND THE SUBSEQUENT USE OF THE INCIDENT BY PNP MODERATES TO DISCREDIT MINISTER OF HOUSING, TONY SPAULDING. SPAULDING'S CONTROL OF THE "SEAMY SIDE" OF PNP POLITICS (INCLUDING PAYOFFS AND THUGGERY) AND HIS STRONG PERSONAL POWERBASE HAS MADE HIM A POWERFUL MAN IN THE PNP. AS A RESULT, MANLEY IS NOW FACED WITH A "THORNY DECISION." SEAGA SAID HE BELIEVES ISSUE MAY ERUPT BY TIME OF PNP MEETING ON MARCH 26. COMMENT: WITH ALLOWANCE FOR SOME EXAGGERATION, SEAGA'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION CORRESPONDS CLOSELY TO THAT HELD BY OTHER GOJ AND PNP OFFICIALS WE HAVE CONTACTED IN RECENT WEEKS. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KINGST 00973 01 OF 02 022238Z

2. AT HIS REQUEST, I HAD A BREAKFAST MEETING WITH EDWARD SEAGA, LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, ON WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2. SEAGA REVIEWED THE PRESENT SITUATION IN JAMAICA WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS "EXTREMELY SERIOUS." ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE HE SAID THAT THE PREPAID BAUXITE REVENUES, WHICH WERE PROGRAMMED TO LAST

UNTIL MAY, HAD ALREADY BEEN SPENT. (FYI: NOTWITH-  
STANDING THIS BOJ DEPUTY GOVERNOR WILSON TOLD US  
MARCH 1 THAT THE GROSS RESERVES ARE HOLDING STEADY  
AT ABOUT 50 MILLION DOLLARS.)

3. ADDRESSING HIMSELF TO THE POLITICAL SITUATION,  
SEAGA SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF JAMAICA IS ON  
THE VERGE OF COLLAPSE PARTLY BY REASON OF THE WIDE SPLIT  
IN THE PNP PRECIPITATED BY THE REMA INCIDENT. (FYI:  
AS REFTEL NOTES, ON FEBRUARY 2 THE MINISTER OF  
HOUSING ORDERED THE EVICTION OF ILLEGAL TENANTS  
FROM A HOUSING PROJECT IN REMA, AN AREA OVER WHICH  
HE SEEKS TO GAIN CONTROL. THE EVICTIONS WERE  
MARKED BY VIOLENCE, AND TURNED INTO AN UGLY POLICE/  
THUG CONFRONTATION WITH THE LOSS OF ONE LIFE. END  
FYI) SEAGA SAID THE INQUIRY INTO THE REMA AFFAIR  
IS LIKELY TO TURN UP MANY SHOCKING INCIDENTS WHICH  
HAVE NOT YET BEEN MADE PUBLIC. HE SAID THE INCIDENT  
IS BEING SEEN BY MODERATES AS A WAY TO DISCREDIT  
TONY SPAULDING.

4. THIS HAS POSED A SERIOUS DILEMMA FOR THE PNP.  
SPAULDING HAS THE PARTY'S ONLY REAL POWER BASE IN  
WESTERN KINGSTON. HE IS CONSIDERED TO BE A LEFTIST,  
BUT NOT BY REASON OF IDEOLOGY. SEAGA CHARACTER-  
IZED HIM AS THE "HEAD OF THE LUMPEN-PROLETARIAT."  
SEAGA SAID THAT IF SPAULDING IS DISCREDITED AND  
DEPOSED, " ALL HELL WILL BREAK LOOSE IN WEST  
KINGSTON", FUELED BY AN ALREADY RISING UNREST  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KINGST 00973 01 OF 02 022238Z

RESULTING FROM UNEMPLOYMENT, FOOD SHORTAGES AND  
HIGH PRICES.

5. SEAGA SAID HE HAS WORD THAT SPAULDING IS MAKING  
CONTINGENCY PREPARATIONS- INCLUDING THE DISTRIBUTION

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KINGST 00973 02 OF 02 022231Z  
ACTION ARA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 INR-05  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PRS-01 EB-03 OMB-01 TRSE-00 INRE-00  
SSO-00 /039 W

-----022255 120668 /63

O 022044Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4257

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KINGSTON 0973

LIMDIS

OF GUNS AND AMMUNITION. SPAULDING IS ALSO "PAYING OFF HIS HENCHMEN THROUGH HIS COMPANY, THE CLOVER CONSTRUCTION COMPANY, WHICH ANNOUNCED A 15 PERCENT "END OF PROJECT" BONUS IN TODAY'S NEWSPAPERS. SEAGA SAID THAT SPAULDING HAS BEEN USING HIS COMPANY AND MINISTRY OF HOUSING CONTRACTS TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL PAYOFFS TO PNP MINISTERS AND OTHER OFFICIALS. HE NOTED THAT SPAULDING HAS LONG CONTROLLED THE "SEAMY SIDE" OF PNP POLITICS.

6. SEAGA SAID MANLEY IS NOW FACED WITH A THORNY DECISION. HE IS GREATLY BEHOLDEN TO SPAULDING FOR THE SIZE OF THE RECENT PNP VICTORY. SPAULDING PROVIDED THE NUTS AND BOLTS, PERSONNEL, AND INTIMIDATION FORCES IN WEST KINGSTON AND THROUGHOUT THE ISLAND. SPAULDING IS ALSO IN A POSITION TO DISCLOSE DAMAGING INFORMATION ON PAYOFFS. FIRING SPAULDING WOULD APPEASE THE MODERATES (AND POSSIBLY THE IDEOLOGICALLY-PURE LEFT) BUT WOULD LEAVE AN EXPLOSIVE SITUATION ON A SHORT FUSE WITHOUT A MEANS TO DEAL WITH IT.

7. SEAGA SAID SPAULDING IS MAKING AN EFFORT TO  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KINGST 00973 02 OF 02 022231Z

SHIFT THE BLAME FOR REMA, AND POLITICAL THUGGERY IN GENERAL, TO D K. DUNCAN, THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL MOBILIZATION, BUT THIS WILL NOT HOLD WATER. SEAGA SAID MANLEY HAD PROMISED A RESOLUTION OF THE SITUATION WITHIN TWO MONTHS BUT HE FELT THE MATTER WOULD COME TO A HEAD BEFORE THEN. REMINDED OF THE SCHEDULED MARCH 26 PNP MEETING, SEAGA THOUGHT THIS MIGHT WILL BE THE "TURNING POINT."

8. SEAGA NOTED THAT THE GOJ IS MAKING AN EFFORT TO "SOFTEN UP WASHINGTON" THROUGH FOREIGN MINISTER PATTERSON'S CALL ON SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE AND PATTERSON'S MEETINGS WITH THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

EDITORIAL BOARD (WHICH TOOK PLACE MARCH 1 ACCORDING TO A TELCON I HAD WITH WSJ CORRESPONDENT PAUL), NEWSWEEK AND OTHER GROUPS. SEAGA MENTIONED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO VISIT WASHINGTON HIMSELF IN LATE MAY OR EARLY JUNE (SEPTTEL).

9. COMMENT: SEAGA IS GIVEN TO A FAIR AMOUNT OF OVERSTATEMENT WHEN DISCUSSING THE PROBABLE COURSE OF EVENTS HERE, BUT DISCOUNTING THIS, THE BASIC ANALYSIS HE PRESENTS CORRESPONDS WITH OUR OWN, AND ADHERES CLOSELY TO THE STORIES WE HAVE BEEN HEARING FROM PNP MODERATES AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL. SPAULDING WON RE-ELECTION IN DECEMBER BY THE LARGEST MARGIN OF ANY CANDIDATE AND HE IS FIRMLY ENTRENCHED. ALTHOUGH THE MODERATES, AND POSSIBLY MANY RADICALS, ARE DETERMINED TO SEE HIM OUSTED, THIS CANNOT BE DONE WITHOUT A FIRST-RATE, AND POSSIBLE VIOLENT, FIGHT.  
GERARD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PERSONAL OPINION, POLITICAL STABILITY, OPPOSITION PARTIES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 02-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977KINGST00973  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** DC ADJUSTED PER KINGSTON 1162  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770072-0417  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** KINGSTON  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t197703102/aaaadlva.tel  
**Line Count:** 189  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** b14988ac-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION ARA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** 77 KINGSTON 710  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 24-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2942217  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** OPPOSITION LEADER SEES INTERNAL COLLAPSE OF GOJ  
**TAGS:** PINT, PINS, JM, (SEAGA, EDWARD)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/b14988ac-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009